

The Man and the Tribe

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562 alliance. Moreover, marriages were carefully arranged be-
 [584] tween families, so that for a husband grossly to neglect his
 wife's rights was a breach, if not of etiquette, certainly of
 [793] social contract. The priesthood may have offered a modest
 field of influence and attainment to women. However, his-
 tory records no mention of any advantage deriving from
 temple service.

● 554 Men had the chief opportunities, and these lay in various
 555 directions. The early chroniclers, conditioned by their
 medieval Spanish background, spoke of hereditary classes. In
 all probability, judging from Indian communities as a whole,
 there was *rank* but not *class* in the hereditary sense. As in our
 own society, a man could attain high *rank* through his own
 efforts, and through his eminence his children would conse-
 quently profit in their own social adjustment. Yet they could
 not reach their father's position unless they earned it through
 [556] equivalent tribal service. *Wealth* did exist, and property in
 the form of rights to use land, tools and other possessions
 created a social and economic stratification. In theory and
 [642
421] practice Aztec society was democratic, and the communal
 ownership of productive property was its economic base.*

555 A man attained rank through the measure of his tribal
 service. The wise farmer, the wily hunter, the brave warrior
 or the dexterous artisan gained admiration from his fellows
 because of superior skill. If his wisdom and judgment were
 conspicuous he might be elected as the clan representative to
 the tribal council, or even as chief. Similarly an individual
 who dedicated himself to learning the magic rituals to placate
 the gods, could become a medicine man or priest. However,
 in the populous and advanced city-states activities tended to
 become specialized, and greater opportunity led to a more

555 finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33-36.)

425 A married man received a plot of land directly from the
511 clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

[721] Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief
555 glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently success-

[575]ful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecubtli*

● [554] (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.*

624 In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.¹⁹ (See Plates 50-51.)

291 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and
 554 their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.²⁰

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loin-cloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

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leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women²⁹¹ wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they⁵⁵⁴ sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*, completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids,^[302] sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates 33-36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather^[292] from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich man-²⁹² tles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver,³⁰¹ shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds,³⁰⁴ opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
 173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl
 of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but
 usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown
 as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

- 554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
 174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
 177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given
 to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne
 at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the
 learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported
 the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to
 Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civi-
 lization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught
 a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts,
 to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in
 Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who
 popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, per-
 sonally, believe that the introduction of superior culture
 elements and the creation of local arts as well might not
 only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also
 endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The
 conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept
 did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from
 the experience of many peoples over a long period of time
 in explaining and honoring the introduction of those bene-
 fits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the
 duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was
 fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and
 cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by inheritance. Merit alone, on the battlefield, could promote to the rank of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the elections held for that purpose.⁸³ The civil-chief ("Tecuhlli," from "Tecul," grandfather) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and age.⁸⁴ There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.⁸⁵

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimce"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").⁸⁶ These titles were merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

⁸³ Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distinguished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had been the chief himself."

⁸⁴ Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces, etc." "Des cérémonies observées antrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un teclé." Zurita ("Rapport, etc." p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been invested with it."

⁸⁵ See, further on, the case of the last Monteruma.

⁸⁶ These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicac," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable); "chimali," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéá" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1641, after Neve y Molina).

701 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of
554 those animals.⁶⁷ Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.⁶⁸

701 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through
555 appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Texozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepe (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 200 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 109) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII, cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . the head was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

⁶⁸ Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cuachic, que eran una orden de caballería que no aña de volver atrás ó morir . . ." Texozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachic, and Tequihuques . . . being 'always leaders' ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths 'a Cuachic, to five others an Otomí, then again an Acheuauhtli, and a Tequihua; all 'conquerors.' This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The 'Otomí' is also called by Texozomoc a 'general' occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sabagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ó varón fuerte llamado Cuachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos 'etc., etc.'" Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Cuachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

⁶⁹ By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ó de noche, ó tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladrón que se adjudicaba y quería para sí el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this rigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quanhtin," and "ococelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.¹⁰²

701 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the
554 hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cnauhnocilli," therefore, being "Chacili," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil and its military head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe, since merit, and not descentancy or wealth, entitled alone to promotion in rank and office.* Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs of the tribe were elected to command its four greatest subdivisions.* Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why four chiefs, and not any other number? If not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochealcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochealcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 579.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochealcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacochealcatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

¹⁰² "Itzquanhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el título 'del cargo que tenían.'" (Letter under date of 26 January, 1873.)

a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.¹⁰³ 701
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Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),¹⁰⁴ represented to us as the king or emperor¹⁰⁵ of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy¹⁰⁶ for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643
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¹⁰³ Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenían atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual colgaban unos ramales hacia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas aña hecho. Desta orden de Caualleros era el mismo Rey tambien, y así se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, y en Chapultepec, donde estan Moteçuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," Vol. I): "Il (Montezuma) a les cheveux réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des princes et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

¹⁰⁴ This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' 'teuan,' 'jutical.' " It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatuani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tlatuan."

¹⁰⁵ The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatuani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

¹⁰⁶ The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatuques, and the old men of the tribe, called Ahtacanhiti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yantequiloques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), called Tlenamacaque and Papaoqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a valiant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nominated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all conferring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos aua de ser electo Rey y no de otros, y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos a hermanos de reyes; . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los señorios, sino por election." "Y así nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo primero en que parece auer sido muy politico el gobierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden que tenían, y guardaban inviolablemente de elegir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlatacuhtli had to belong to a certain kin, is very doubtful.

701 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,¹²⁰—they were all of a more
643 elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were
293 entitled to wear them thus.¹²¹

[554] But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle
was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hang-
ing down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.¹²² Besides, they
carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.¹²³

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the
characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful fig-
ures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross."
These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy
with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans,
that it is a strong approach to identity.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ "Cozcaatl," or "cozcapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcaatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

¹²¹ The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen traer capatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Item, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las provincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de brazaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en las gargantas de los pies, y ponerse en los pies cascabels de oro à pies y guirnaldas y cintas de oro a la caueca con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Came" and "Vukub-Came" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took advice together, and these: 'Hun-Came' and 'Vukub-Came,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzas inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Utsua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, reduccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutiérrez Sotomayor, Madrid, 1701.)

¹²² The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

¹²³ Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV, p. 277): "y yendo el rey Axayacatl victorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba quando iba en alceuse." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un tambor de oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes servian de tambor, o sus generales, los quales tocaban al arma y à recoger de los exercitos."

¹²⁴ Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of chiefs, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlacatecutli," and the other.—the right hand figure—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America," Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupuix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala," Berlin, 1832) has, Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

armament.¹⁴⁰ Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished⁷²⁶ with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,¹⁴¹ or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried⁷²⁶ mostly his own frugal provisions¹⁴² which the women of each⁷²⁴ household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"¹⁴³ but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes these

¹⁴⁰ It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,— shields, swords, and made and finished many rods ('tlatzontectli'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytzacualco, Cuicapan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

¹⁴¹ Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used^[508] for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 131), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuiclahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

¹⁴² Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proneyan de sus grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevava á questas su particular comida, todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

¹⁴³ The women prepared the food, but it also occurred that the stewards dispensed it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtili, pinole, ground pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with everything necessary for certain day stated." The "tlacactutopochtili" (from "tlacalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtili," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizecho." The pinoli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y curados al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

¹⁴⁴ These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this degrading work (because woman-like!) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-^[554]
^[553]

pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future⁷²⁶ opportunity;¹⁴⁷ it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes,⁶⁴⁸ whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico*.¹⁴⁸ Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,¹⁴⁹ calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.¹⁵⁰

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,¹⁵¹ still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.¹⁵² The force,

¹⁴⁷ It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

¹⁴⁸ Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados los Señores de Tezcuco, y Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, y partian lo que ganaban, y obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante a la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecutli." (Zurita, p. 11). [554]

¹⁴⁹ This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the *Cronica Mexicana*, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

¹⁵⁰ When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinc-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 288). Axayacatl: "mandó partiase el exercito de la ciudad y que en sus capitánias fuesen a los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que allí se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos términos de Matlatzinc y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Mexititlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu- raba la unción y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la gente que estoviesse aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que allí aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

¹⁵¹ There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

¹⁵² Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with kindred tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalcas of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Apashuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a [631] confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

618 It was not necessary to become a chief in order to fill certain offices. Still it is evident that, as chiefs were always men of peculiar ability, the higher charges were generally filled by chieftains.

618 The title and rank of "grandfather" ("Tecutli,")¹⁸⁷ which
 554 was the Mexican term for chieftain in general, was open to any
 555 one who strove to deserve it. It was conferred:

1. In recompense for warlike prowess, and actions of personal intrepidity and superior shrewdness. Courage alone could not secure it; therefore the "distinguished braves" were not always chiefs.¹⁸⁸

2. In reward for actions denoting particular wisdom and sagacity, and in acknowledgement of services in the councils, or as traders.¹⁸⁹

sonal merit, and died with the individual." I have selected the term "officer" as a substitute for Mr. Morgan's "achem," because the latter is a northern Indian word, whereas the former, while it expresses the nature of the charge and dignity, is more widely known, and therefore better understood. It is out of the union of the attributes, of both officer and chief, that nobility and monarchy have been claimed to exist. Among the Mexicans, in fact among the most highly advanced Indian tribes (the Incas of Peru not excluded), the dignity of chief was still a personal matter, and not necessarily connected with office. The chiefs are the "knightia" mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega* ("Historie des Incas," Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, XXV, XXVI) and *Herrera* (Dec. V, Lib. IV, cap. VII, p. 63; Lib. IV, cap. I, p. 65). With the Muisecas of Bogotá, compare *H. Turmuz-Compans* ("L'ancien Cundinamarca," § XXVII, pp. 57 and 58). *Ortíz y Valdez* (Lib. XXVI, cap. XXXI, p. 410). *Herrera* (Dec. VI, Lib. V, cap. VI, pp. 116 and 117). Compare also, in regard to the dignity of "military chief" among the wild tribes of the Rio Orinoco and of its tributaries, *P. José Gumilla* "Historie naturelle, civile, et géographique de l'Orénoque," translated by Mr. Eidous, 1736, (Vol. II, chapter XXXV, pp. 280-292). Very important.

¹⁸⁷ Molina (II, p. 98), "ahuelo," "tecul." It evidently should be "abuelo," and is therefore only a misprint. The older reports have the word "tecle," and only the later writers (those after the year 1580) begin to write it "tecutil," "tecuhitl," "tencutil." Whether the "tecul" meant really "god," or rather "tecuhitl," as plural of "tecutil," is yet doubtful. It is almost a truism to recall here the Roman "senex," and the German "grave" or "Graf." Among American tribes we have, in Q'Quiché, "aua," old, "ahan,"—chief; in Maya, "Hachyum,"—father, and "ahan,"—chief—also "achi,"—brave.

¹⁸⁸ Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 329-333): "De Los grados por donde subian hasta hacerse Tequitlistos," especially (p. 331): "y á los que por sí prendian cuatro cautivos, mandaba el rey que los cortasen los cabellos como á capitanes, llamábanle tal diciendo . . . el capitan mexicanli. á el capitan tolnacacati, á otros nombres que cuadraban á los capitanes. De allí adelante se podian sentar en los estrados que ellos usaban de petates ó icpales en la sala donde se sentaban los otros capitanes y valientes hombres, los cuales son primeros y principales en los asuntos, y tienen barbotas largas, orejeras de cuero, y borlas en las cabezas conque están compuestas;" *Burita* ("Rapport," p. 47): "Les chefs qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se nommaient Tec Teutacin, ou Teutley au pluriel, n'exerçaient le commandement qu'à vie, parce que les souverains suprêmes ne les élevaient à ces dignités qu'en récompense des exploits qu'ils avaient faits à la guerre, et des services rendus à l'état ou au prince." *Madrida* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 361). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII, pp. 471 and 472), and others.

¹⁸⁹ *Burita* ("Rapport," p. 47). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 345): "Estos mercaderes

In both the above instances (or kinds of instances) actions of particular merit facilitated, at least, the acquisition of the title; but it could, also, be obtained:—

3. By the observance of rigorous and even cruel rites of "medicine" for a stated time, which put the courage, fortitude, and control of the candidate to the severest tests.¹⁷⁰ Although a detailed account of these rites might perhaps be withheld for a subsequent sketch of ancient Mexican worship, yet they equally deserve a place here.

The candidate appears to have been presented at the great central place of worship by the representatives of his kin, perhaps, also, by the other chiefs of his tribe. There he underwent four days and four nights of the most cruel torments. While but little nourishment was allowed him (some went even so far as not to eat anything at all during this time), his blood was drawn freely, and no sleep was permitted to settle on his weary eyes. From time to time he was exposed to taunts, to injurious words, to blows and even to stripes. While he was thus hungry and thirsty, weakened from loss of blood through self-sacrifice, others ate and drank plentifully before his eyes. Finally, his clothes were torn from his body, and with nothing on but the breech-cloth or diaper, he was at last left alone at the "calmecac," there to do the rest of his penance. When these four initiatory days were past, the candidate went back to his calpulli, to spend the remainder of the time (about a full year), in retirement, and abstinence, frequently attended with more or less self-inflicted bodily suffering. When the kin had secured the necessary amount of articles to be offered up in worship, or given to the medicine-men, officers, chiefs, and guests attending the installation, this final solemnity was allowed to take place, provided always that the courage and personal strength of the novice had not forsaken him. Another period of fasting, sacrifice, and torture, similar to the one at the opening of the career of preparation, closed the probation. Some of the ordeals were again of the most trying nature. Finally the store of gifts was distributed; eating and drinking alternated with

eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazanas." . . . *Proy Alonso de Montalvo* ("Supplique," etc., 20 Nov., 1551. "Troisième relation d'Estillacochill," Appendix, p. 257). "Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisoient un Tzotz." (1st "Recueil," p. 222). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 156).
¹⁷⁰ Gomara ("Conquista," Veda I, p. 475). "Des Cérémonies observées," etc. (pp. 222, etc.). *Mendieta* (p. 156). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXI and XXX, etc.).

555 solemn dances to the monotonous rhythmic noise called Indian music.

785 The candidate was, at last, once more dressed in becoming apparel,

618 and could recuperate, being himself now the "feasted one."¹⁷¹

618 Men, however young in years, who had successfully endured such

● 554 great trials, certainly deserved to be looked upon thereafter as persons of uncommon fortitude. Hence indeed the chiefs or "tecuitli" were particularly fitted for responsible offices of any kind. They were looked upon with deference, their voice was heard and listened to, and it is no wonder if higher charges, especially those of a military nature, were filled by such as had, in one way or another, achieved this distinction.¹⁷² But no privilege was connected with their dignity, except that of wearing certain peculiar ornaments, and none was transmitted through them to their descendants.¹⁷³ That the "tecuitli," besides, did

¹⁷¹ For the above description of the formalities of creating a "Tecuitli," I refer to the sources quoted in the preceding three notes. It is interesting to compare similar ceremonies used by the Indians of the Orinoco, *Gumilla* ("Histoire," etc., Vol. II, cap. XXIV). Of the Yucas, *Garcilasso de la Vega* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV to XXVI). *Cristóbal de Molina* ("An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yucas," translated by C. R. Markham, in Hackluyt Society's Volume of 1873). "Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yucas." *Herrera* (Dec. V, lib. III, cap. VII, p. 63, etc.). We are forcibly reminded of the words of the quaint old poet and soldier, *Alonso de Ercilla*.

"Los cargos de la Guerra, y preeminencia
No son por flacos medios proveidos,
Ni van por calidad, ni por herencia,
Ni por hacienda, i ser mejor nacidos;
Más la virtud del brazo, y la excelencia,
Esta hace á los hombres preferidos,
Esta ilustra, habilita, perfecciona,
Y quilita el valor de la persona."

(*"Le Araucana"*, Parte Ia, Canto I". Edition of 1733, p. 2).

¹⁷² *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 181: "Los que tenían el título de Tecuitli, tenían muchas preeminencias, y entre ellas era que en los concilios y ayuntamientos sus votos eran principales." *Gomara* ("Conquista" Vedia I, p. 496). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 386). It should always be remembered, that the dignity of Tecuitli appears most prominent in Tlaxcallan. This people however, was but a league, very similar to that of the northern Iroquois, only consisting of four, instead of six tribes. Among them, the peculiar nature of the dignity of chief became more evident than it was among the Mexicans to the Spaniards. But there is no difference between the "Tecuitli" of Tlaxcallan, and the "Tecuitli" of Mexico or Tescuco. That the head-chiefs of Mexico were always "Tecuitli" themselves, previous to their election, needs hardly any proof. *Domingo Munos Camargo* ("Histoire de la République de Tlaxcallan." Translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, in Vol. 28 and 29 of *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1843. See Vol. 28, p. 178, etc.)

¹⁷³ About the privileges of the Tecuitli, compare *Gomara* ("Conquista" Vedia I, p. 436), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIX, p. 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 386), *Zurita* (p. 48, etc.). It is evident however, that the latter confounds the rank of chief with the particular office which might have been entrusted to him, else the "cultivation of lands" could not be included in the list of advantages derived from the position. Compare *Treasures of Lands*, *Bustamante* ("Tucoco," etc., p. 235). Sr. Bustamante frequently copies Zurita. *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135). In regard to the non-heredity of the dignity, I refer to the above authorities, and more especially to *A. de Sutil*, ("Rapport," p. 49: "Lorsqu'un de ces chefs mourait, le prince accordait

not form as it is often stated, an order of chivalry, is amply proven⁶¹⁸ by the fact that the bond of kinship interposed a barrier between⁵⁵⁴ them and such an imaginary association and furthermore, because their number could not be very great. The formalities required were so numerous and dilatory, the material for distribution in the shape of gifts was so large, that a frequent repetition of the occurrence lay beyond the power of the kin.¹⁷⁴ After this necessary digression, we return once more to the Mexican calpulli.

Besides being as already established in "Tenure of Lands,"⁶¹⁸ the unit of territorial possession, we found the Mexican kin to be a *self-governing*, therefore *democratic* cluster. Every one of these clusters had, within itself, all the elements required for independent existence as an organized society. Except for assistance and protection against outsiders, it needed no associates. Hence it follows, that since we find twenty Mexican kins aggregated into a tribe, this tribe was a *voluntary* association, formed for mutual protection.

Three attributes of the tribe are next to self-evident:

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1. A particular territory;
2. A common dialect;
3. Common tribal worship.¹⁷⁵

sa charge à celui qui s'en était rendu digne par ses services, car les fils du défunt n'en héritaient pas s'ils n'en étaient investis." The very fact of the election, and the manner in which it was performed is also evidence. See the various documents in *Ternaux-Compans, 3d Recueil*.

¹⁷⁴ That such a festival or ceremony necessitated the accumulation of much provision and many articles for presents and offerings, is proven by numerous authorities. Gomara ("Conquista" Varla I, p. 436): "En fin, en semejantes fiestas no habia pariente pobre. Daban á los señores tecuties y principales convidados plumajes, mantas, tocas, zapatos, bezotes, y orejeras de oro ó plata ó piedras de precio. Esto era mas ó menos, segun la riqueza y animo del nuevo tecutilli, y conforme á las personas que se daba. Tambien hacia grandes ofrendas al templo y á los sacerdotes." Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs etc.," p. 28): "Ces solennités occasionnaient de grandes dépenses, car les assistants étaient fort nombreux; c'étaient les parents, les alliés et les domestiques du nouveau dignitaire. L'on faisait aussi des aumônes considérables aux pauvres." "Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un Teclé." (1st Recueil, p. 335): "Celui que l'on nommait Tecle, devait d'abord posséder de grande biens, qu'il put donner aux prêtres et aux autres nobles." (P. 337): "Un grand nombre ne pouvait pas se procurer en si peu de temps la quantité suffisante, etc., etc." Mendilaharsu (Lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, p. 136): "Y así les costaba excesivo trabajo y gasto, como aquí se dirá." (Id., cap. XXXIX, pp. 160 and 161.) Veytia ("Historia Antigua," Lib. II, cap. IX, pp. 65 and 66): "Y era exorbitantísimo el gasto, por cuya causa algunos, cuyas facultades y caudal no era suficiente á reportarlos, dejaban de tomar este dictado." H. H. Bancroft (Vol. II, p. 100): "As before remarked, the vast expenses entailed upon a Tecutilli debarred from the honor many who were really worthy of it."

¹⁷⁵ For these three attributes of tribal organization I refer to Morgan ("Ancient Society," p. 113).

everyone ate and drank. The old merchants lay guarding and watching, smoking, inhaling the fragrance, and taking their pleasure. Smoke drifted upward and was overspread. Food was spread out in abundance; nothing was lacking. Of this it was thus said: the merchants heated things; they placed them in the sun.

And when it grew dark, there was drinking. All of the old merchant men and women assembled. When they became drunk, then they vaunted, boasted, and blustered over their wealth, their achievements, their valor, and especially wheresoever they had set foot; that is to say, wheresoever they had gone to arrive; the things which they had discovered, the manner of their return, their coming back. So they had gone to perform their labors and to circle about the surrounding provinces, to encounter the waste lands, to descend into the gorges — everywhere entering places of danger and drawing into fields of battle. And verily in some places they were besieged and ambushed. Perhaps only one or two escaped the hands of the enemy, coming to leave word with and inform the people that they had first broken and scattered the rampart and enclosure of eagle and ocelot warriors.

So there they made light of, scoffed at, exposed, revealed, abused, and tortured those who knew no places, who had gone nowhere, who nowhere in any degree had set foot anywhere; who only at the ashes of his fire called himself a warrior¹⁹ and lived prudently²⁰ and impudently only here in the market place. Only here, the market place, did he frequent, buying, selling, and deceiving. And this was when, because of their suffering, these cast into the fire — or it fell by the wayside — their rearing, because they were troubled and moved by the counsel of their fathers and mothers. So there at the place of congregating there was dispute, discussion, abuse, fault-finding, and belittling. They sat jostling and besmearing one another, disputing and quarreling among themselves, contending, refusing, and bragging. They paid no heed to others' answers; they did not consider others to be superior.²¹ They chattered.²² Likewise, they were often arrogant; each one had his own opinion; they made little of and

puctli-mantoc, tlaqualli quiquiztoc, atle monectoc, iehoatl injic mijtoa, ca tlatalonia, tlatozonja, in puchteca.

Auh in oioac tlatlaono, mocecentalia in puchteca vuetque, in puchteca ilamatque, intla otlauijntic, vncan quimpopoaltia, quimeoaltia, ic mjmxtlatoque, yn innecujltonol, yn intlaiecoliz, yn jmoquichiliz, oc cencia iehoatl: in canjn icac imjcci, quitoznequj: in canjn acitinemj, in quexquich ic conmati, in quexquich imjloch, innecuepal, ic quichiuhntinemj, injic quijlacatzotinemj anaotl, injic itlaotl quijnamjctinemj, injic atlaubtl quitemovitinemj, in novian calactinemj, in oyica, in isotilan qujztinemj: auh in nel cana imjan calmotzaqua, qujnpoimjctia, ago ca ce, vnc in tematitlampa qujca, in qujoalcaco tlatoili, in calteioa, iehoan achropa qujpetia, qujxitinja, in quauhtenamjtl, quauhtlatzacujlli, ocelotenamjtl, ocelotlatzacujlli.

ic vncan quiquequeloa, ica maujlia, qujtlatlacajtia, qujccoca, qujtotoneca, qujccocolhuja, qujchichinchilia yn jiollo, in acan onmati, in acampa ianj in acan quentel, in acan icac icxi, in can njcan inextitlan mooqujchitoca, can njcan tianqujzco in mjmantinemj, tlaxtlapalotinemj, can njcan in motitlanquja, tlatlanecujloa, tlatlaxicuj, auh ic vncan in jtoneuhcacopa, motlecomaiavi vevetzcoa, yn intlazcaltilhoan, in jntlaopaacalhoi, injic vel imjtic oacic intecoco, in teitic oacic intlatol, in jntahoan, yn jnnacain, injic vncan in neccentlaliaia maoca, mononotza, moquequeloa, moplapatia, mopapatzaoca, moqueziccatoque, moçoqujmotlatoque, modatzoujlitoque, moquiquatocque, mjqquiquatocque, motlatolxopeuhatocque, moiehoatocacque, amotenaqujimatque amo motenpanavillanj, chachalacatocque, no cac in jzmoxixtia: muchi tlacatl ceccentl itlatol, atle ipan qujmoxitilitoque, amo commopovilitoque in jnnecujltonol, yn jnnetlamachtl: huel nononqua mutachcauhnequj, mocecentecpoca, ceccentecuti, ceccenne mo-

19. *Motepimichine* in the Red Palace MS. *Nicam*: *niam* is meant.

20. *Mindimant* in *loc. cit.*

21. Possibly *moctecauquimacque* and *amo motenpanavillanj* are intended.

22. *Chachalacatocque* in the Red Palace MS.

441 held in no esteem the riches and prosperity of others.
 527 Indeed, each one alone wished to be best; each one
 554 thought himself a lord, a superior person; each one
 521 thought of himself as the only one, the best. Each
 spoke for himself; none would talk to them or say
 a word in their behalf, unless he were a vanguard
 merchant, one who knew distant lands; unless he
 were very rich, dealt in goods in his house, or were a
 buyer of slaves,²¹ a ceremonial bather of captives to
 be sacrificed; unless in his house were carrying
 frames stuffed and creaking; unless in his house one
 drank from black jars, gourd vessels, etc.

This was because each one of the merchants him-
 self placed things in the sun at his own house on the
 day sign Four Wind.

mati, mocecocamati, nononqua motlatalhuja, aiac
 vel inoan tlatoa, aiac vel inpal onmōcencamavia:
 intlacamo oztomecatl, intlacamo veta matinj: ioan
 intlacamo cenca mocujltōnoa, intlacamo ontlaaquj
 ichan, intlacamo teoan, intlacamo teaktian, intla-
 camo cācatzcatoc, nānatzcatoc ichan cacaxtli: intla-
 camo poctecotica, aiotectica atlioā ichan et.²

Ipampa injc ceceniaca tlatonaltiaia, puchteca in jn-
 cacaltic: in jpan jn tonalli navecatl.

21: Or "one who surrounded guests."

594 as] the vessels to carry, keep, and transport the
851 leaving.⁴

Then, for a short time, all sat relaxed, watching; all sat content in the place of lingering, in the banqueting place. But if some were not well satisfied, nor happy, nor content, with the chocolate, the food, the flowers, and the tobacco, etc., they only ran away angry. They quickly arose and sprang to their feet, leaped up, glared in rage at the drink and food, and went about chattering, babbling, jabbering, multiplying it and shouting, doing it in crescendo.⁵ Thus oppressed and troubled, they went to seat themselves at their homes and in their houses. And those who had left in such a manner, those who had only become enraged, if they were noted, later, next day, once more they received them⁶ and brought them in, consoled them, when it was the time of finishing the food.⁷ In their behalf it was celebrated; they were consoled and made joyous.

[262] And the women only drank a gruel, perhaps a gruel of wrinkled *chila* cooked with maize, or a drink of pinole mixed with *chila*,⁸ which they drank.

[263] They gave them [gruel] topped with honey, or with chila, yellow chila, small hot ones, or hot green ones, or with squash seeds on it.

574 And when it grew dark, the old men and women
273 drank wine. They gathered around and congregated.
451 They set up before them that from which they drank, called the flower vessel, and their drinking bowls and wine cups, the serving vessels.⁹

• [554] The wine server, the server, first began: so he went to the one of highest rank, the first in rank, the one in first place. So he went in order, going in line, and so were left those of lesser rank, of inferior station, in last place. He continued serving the wine, perhaps white, or watered, or honeyed;¹⁰ those which were stored and prepared for the drinking ceremony. It was carried there in jars for dregs, in wine jars and dipping vessels.

vnči achitzinca ompacostoc, nepielotoc, vellama-
chotoc in nepielotian, in teconozcaloian: aub in ce-
qujin in amo cenca tlavelmati, vellamati, movelmati,
yn atica, tlaqualtica, xochitica, yietica et.¹¹ can motla-
vellaloca, moquetztetoca, moquetztiquica, cholotoca,
maçona, motlaqualçoma, tlätlatotvi, popolocativ,
tlätetociuj, tlätlanauhtij, tlänauhtij, tlänauhtij,
ic oallatetpachoticate, motxiçoticate, yn omotlatino
inchä, yn jocalitic: aub inla oitotque in iuh oizque,
in can equalantiaque, quin imutlatoc oc ceppa
qujnana, qujmonjxiana, qujmolocua, in iquac ic
apeolca, inca nechicalo, iollalilo, papaquiltilo,

aub in cihoa can tlayia, aço chiantzotzotlatolli,
anoço chianpiñolli in quia, in qujnnama, necpanj,
anoço chilpanj, chikozpanj, chiltetpampanj, chikcho-
panj, aiaoaçpanj,

aub yn oioac in vevetique, yn ilamatque, tlätlaonä,
moçololoca, moçecentlala, ymjxpan quicalquetza yn
intlaonania, yn joca xochcomitl, yoa yn intlaonancx,
in jottelaoç, in tetlamamacan,

açto ic vmpoa in tetlaonä, in tetlamamacac,
njmä ic ic iaul yn jiacac, in tlätacac, yn jiaçaoç, ic
tevipätiuh, teçempitotuh, ic omococao in icuitla-
pilco, in tlacuitlapilco, in tlätzacan, quioaltecat-
manj in vctli, aço itzavctli, anoço avctli, tlächioalve-
ctli, yn otaliloc ochichioaloc ic pillaoçoz, ontlaça-
çaco iniaçcomjc, inoçcomjc, intlatemovilcomjc,

4. Interpretation is provisional. For this, Sahagún, in the corresponding text, writes: "y las sobras del curao, danan a sus criados." See n. 2.

5. This item is apparently incompletely corrected to read *danapantia*; cf. *Real Palacio MS*.

6. Or *ceppa quimocoma* in *ibid.*

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "a esta dia llamaron. Apoyados: porque en el se acabaron todo el comen." Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 23, and Sahagún (Gairney ed.), Vol. IV, p. 321. In *ibid.*, I, 21, 24, it is referred to as "atlatitlora a lo que comen comido y bebido."

8. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VII, "Kings and Lords," p. 39; Book II, "The Ceremonies," p. 91 (*chianpiñolli*).

9. In the *Real Palacio MS*, *yn tlätlanauhtij, yn tlätlanauhtij, yn tlätlanauhtij*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "bebidos de agua, y miel comido, con la ropa: el qual llamaron ayotli, que quiere decir, palero de agua: lo qual seya ayotli, y guardado el otro del comido: de algunas dias antes." See also Otaviano Góngora de Lima: *El maguay y el palero en los rituales misioneros* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955), *passim*, and *op. cit.* pp. 107 ff.

it, or reproach or revile him; [that he not be] cried out at, or in had grace.

And when already it had dawned, guests would be procured; there would be receptions, and there would be invitations to dine. There was much pre-occupation and bustling. All was put thoroughly in order. Paths were adorned; the courtyard was prepared; the ground was leveled and smoothed; earth was scattered on it; it was wet and sprinkled; and was strewn on the surface; reed tips were arranged, suspended, laid out, and draped. There where there was to be dancing they were scattered.⁵ This was the task and obligation of the musicians, who were in charge.

And some plucked and removed the feathers from birds, and dressed them; or slew, singed, and dressed dogs; or prepared and cooked meat, and braised it in pots. Some ground and powdered tobacco and with a heavy straw filled tubes with it. And among the ashes was the labor of the old women. They made tamales and wrapped them in husks. They made tamales using dried grains of maize; they made white ones with beans forming a scabbell on top, and meat cooked with maize. They made tamales of meat. Some cooked the tamales in an olla. Some washed the maize grains which had been cooked in lime. Some carried and drew water, or poured it. Some broke up, ground, and pulverized cacao beans. Some mixed cooked maize with chocolate. Some cooked stews, or roasted chilis—different kinds of chilis. All night they remained there. Vigil was kept. They kept watch. There was constant awaiting of the light. They sat holding vigil and chattering.

And when it had dawned, thereupon there was sweeping in all parts, the laying out of straw mats in all places, and the setting out of seats. Straw beds were spread out, frayed and interwoven at the edges. Already was prepared and lined up all which might be required.

Already arranged in order, in their respective places, and assigned to their proper tasks, were those who were to be waiters, who were to serve. No longer was the host, he who had invited the guests, concerned; the care, all provision of comfort to others, had been assumed and taken over for him, so that there would be no neglect or carelessness.

5. In *ibid.*, *antemuralis* follows *diamentale*.

auh in ie callathui coatoaz, nepiclos tecomoc-
loz, ceca nehamanalo, netetequipacholo, tlatacena-
calo, vchichicalo, ithoalchichicalo, tlatairamanalo,
tlataltemalo, tlatacucujalo, tlatermalo, tlavililo, ta-
atzelhujo, tlaxtalhujo, toiquatecteco, tlapihilolo,
tolquatectli moteca, mopipilolo, i vnci netotilo, ta-
tatzelolo, fin ichoa itequijah inocol, cicolilo, in
cujcanime.

auh in cequjn tlavivita, totolhuivita, totolchi-
chioa, itzucujnemjctia, itzucujnichichioa, itzucujnichi-
oa, nacachichioa, nacapaocli, cōcontlatia, in cequjn
yietlalchioa, yietlalzaqualoa, yietema tepacatica, auh
in nextilan, ichoan itequijah, tlamatque quichioa
tamalli, piqui, tamaloa, tlatamotia, quatecuiculli
quichioa, nacatlacio, nactamilli quichioa, cequjn ta-
malpaocli, cequjn nextamalpa cequjn acaaca, atla-
tlacuj, ateteca, cequjn cacaoatl quixamanja, cacao-
teci, tlacuechoa, cequjn tlantlamalneloa, cequjn
molchichioa, chilixca, chichilixca; can iuh ceioal in
nemoa tozcolo, tozcoa tozocolo tlavilli quixco, cha-
chalacoatoc,

auh yn otlaviscalleoac, njman ie ic tlatachpano,
petlateteco, icpaliteteco, cacapectli moteteca, moteri-
molco, tlatervimollolli, ie ic tlanoac, ie omocuecu-
tilli, in inquich monenequix,

ie omotetecpanque, ie in mīmania, omotetequip-
antique, in tlatequipanocque, in tenamiquizque,
aocmo quen ipi in tecomocozqui, in tecomocozan, ca
inquich yneucitlavi in teca mchichio, i repantlatoc,
in maca omiccoalo, onjicaalo,